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RECEPTION AND DINNER

IN HONOR OF

HENRY CABOT LODGE

A GREAT DEFENDER OF THE FAITH

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By The Roosevelt Club

HOTEL SOMERSET-BOSTON

NOVEMBER 20-1920

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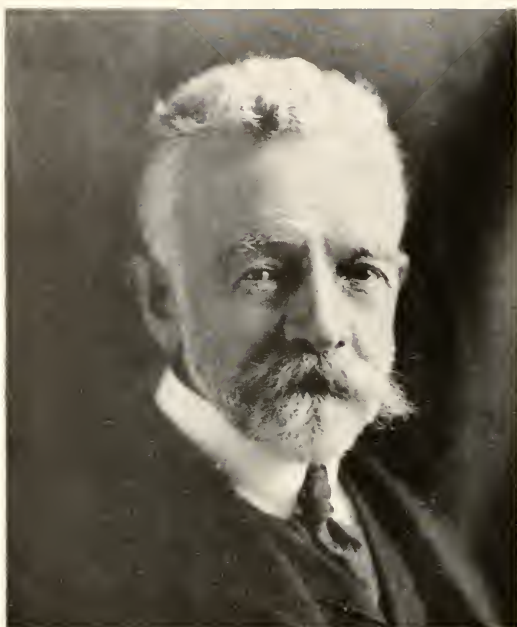
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**"Render therefore unto Caesar
The things which are Caesar's"**
St. Matthew 22: 19

Gift
Hon. R. Luce
Nov. 1 1921

Edited by
R. M. WASHBURN
89 State St.
Boston





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H. C. Lodge

HENRY CABOT LODGE
OF NAHANT

Born Boston May 12-1850

Harvard College A.B. 1871

Harvard Law School LL.B. 1875

Harvard University Ph.D. 1876

Suffolk Bar 1876

Massachusetts House 1880-1881

Chairman Republican State Committee 1883

Congressman 1887-1893

Senator 1893 Term expires 1923

Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations

Leader of the Senate

LL.D.—Williams College, Clark University, Yale University,
Harvard University, Brown University, Amherst College, Union
College, Princeton University, Dartmouth College

A GREAT DEFENDER OF THE FAITH

The Roosevelt Club

(INCORPORATED)

Boston

A RESOLUTION

Resolved, at a Dinner of five hundred loyal American men and women, given by The Roosevelt Club, in honor of Henry Cabot Lodge, our strong obligation to him. Senior Senator from Massachusetts, Leader of the Senate, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, he has successfully lead the great struggle for the preservation of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, in the third crisis of the country. Like a Sentinel on his own rocks of Nahant, with penetrating and protecting eye towards the Nations of Europe, his thoughts, his hopes, his struggles have been, ever, first, for America. We recognize, in him, A Great Defender of the Faith. Our hearts are his. He is our own.

“He (Mr. Lodge) is an eminently fit successor of Webster and Sumner in the Senatorship of Massachusetts. I say, deliberately, that he has been, on the whole, the best and most useful servant of the public to be found in either house of Congress.”

Theodore Roosevelt.

(On the wall, these names)

WASHINGTON — LINCOLN — ROOSEVELT — LODGE

SPEAKERS

HON. R. M. WASHBURN

Chairman

RT. REV. WILLIAM LAWRENCE

Seventh Bishop of Massachusetts

Member of Lodge Class of '71 Harvard

HON. GEORGE H. MOSES

Senior Senator from New Hampshire

HENRY CABOT LODGE

Senior Senator from Massachusetts

AT THE TABLE OF HONOR

RALPH S. BAUER	DR. FREDERICK C. SHATTUCK
DR. WM. STURGIS BIGELOW	HARRY WORCESTER SMITH
LOUIS A. COOLIDGE	SAMUEL SPRING
WILLIAM C. DRURY	HON. JOSEPH WALKER
HON. GEORGE H. ELLIS	RICHARD D. WARE
HON. CHARLES N. FOWLER	HON. JOSEPH E. WARNER
J. MITCHEL GALVIN	HON. JOHN W. WEEKS
HON. FRANK B. HALL	NORMAN H. WHITE
HON. SEWARD W. JONES	WILLIAM WHITMAN

(The capacity of the Banquet Hall present, 300 men and 200 women,
approximately.)

“There rests in you (Mr. Lodge) one of the tenderest of hearts, and a sentiment as sweet and refined as any man would wish to have, and a sentiment of such delicacy and refinement and affection as belong to those who are of the choice characters of the world.”

William Lawrence.

IN HONOR OF
HENRY CABOT LODGE

By The Roosevelt Club

The Reception being concluded, at seven P. M., sharp, this Eminent American was escorted into the Banquet Hall by the Chairman of The Roosevelt Club, and Hon. John W. Weeks, a former colleague and highly efficient Republican, and nineteen other representative men, to the music of that great march:

"Onward Christian Soldiers, Marching as to War."

BISHOP LAWRENCE

We thank Thee, Heavenly Father, for all Thy goodness and loving kindness. And now, again, we consecrate ourselves to Thee, our Heavenly Father, to our fellow men and to the service of our country. Amen.

DINNER

(As the Chairman rose to call the Dinner to order, he was greeted with great applause. Then J. Mitchel Galvin proposed, "Three cheers for the man who received 100,000 votes for Lieutenant-Governor," which was heartily given. When the applause had ceased, the Chairman observed, "No, 133,480.")

THE CHAIRMAN

The Roosevelt Club is a year and a half old, almost to a day. It has had some troubles, but purely children's diseases. It is, tonight, well and vigorous, facing a bright future under the most auspicious circumstances [applause]. The Roosevelt Club wishes to express its appreciation to the Republican League of Massachusetts, for its song sheets, and for the able leadership of Albert E. Brown [applause], a man of contagious virility. The Roosevelt Club desires, also, to express its appreciation to the Republican Club of Massachusetts, led by President Ellis, Secretary Davidson, and Executive Secretary Glidden, for its able co-operation towards the success of this dinner. The Roosevelt Club expresses, also, its appreciation to the Middlesex Club, adorned by the lead-

ership of President Coolidge and Treasurer Ramsay. The Roosevelt Club regrets the unavoidable absence of a man of ideals, of independence of thought, of capacity, and of courage, Charles Sumner Bird, of Walpole [prolonged applause]. He has been its President, its only President, has been, and is its best friend.

This is not a formal but a family party. It is a great outpouring, but it is simply an old home reunion, and I am now going to do what I never yet have seen done at a dinner of this sort; I am going to tell you who look down upon you—I confess some of them somewhat contemptuously—from the head-table, in order that you may know who they are [applause]. While I can not introduce you to them, I can introduce them to you.

At the extreme left is Richard Darwin Ware, of Amherst, N. H., [applause], once a Harvard man, now a farmer, a loyal and effective pro-Lodge political satirist.

Then comes J. Mitchel Galvin [applause], who has led more cheers for Henry Cabot Lodge than any man who ever got out of bed [laughter].

Then comes Samuel Spring, whose principal charm is that he is Secretary of The Roosevelt Club [applause], who, incidentally, is from California, and who was an old playmate of Hiram Johnson [applause], so that he is completely at home in a vigorous atmosphere.

Then comes the Hon. George H. Ellis [loud applause], who is a good deal of a commercial acrobat, in that he not only dispenses printers' black ink, but white milk; and who has done as much, in making James Jackson, Treasurer, to raise the plane of Massachusetts politics, as any man I know [applause].

Then comes Hon. Seward W. Jones [applause]. He is that modest-looking man, who is now drawing back from the table, and his principal claim for a seat at this table is, that, as a political manager, he started John Weeks toward Congress and the United States Senate [laughter and applause].

The Hon. Frank B. Hall of Worcester [applause]. To be from Worcester is as much as I can say of any man [laughter].

The next man is the Hon. Joseph E. Warner [cheers and loud applause, *long continued*], as courageous and as high a type of public servant as I have ever seen in Massachusetts.

The man who sits next to him [Senator Weeks] is an ex-Mayor of Newton [laughter and applause]; and while Henry Cabot

Lodge, as a statesman, has led this fight which has now terminated in a great victory, as much has Weeks done, as a man of business, towards this result [cheers and applause].

Then I come to the Proprietor of the Concord Monitor [Senator Moses]. I want to say of that paper that it is very much to its credit, the continuous and the loyal way in which it has supported the Hon. George H. Moses [laughter and applause].

Now, I am going to show you the too-strange spectacle of a clergyman and a human being [Bishop Lawrence] [applause and laughter]. By which I mean that he has done much to bridge that natural chasm between the specialist in spirituality and the material man who has consecrated his life to pulling down his barns and building greater.

Do you notice with what restlessness these men [on the Chairman's right] are waiting? [laughter]. I owe them some duty. But I shall not betray them.

On my immediate right, sits a young friend of ours [Mr. Lodge], who deserves encouragement, and who is going to get it, here, tonight [applause and cheers].

Next comes William Whitman, of Goddard Avenue, Brookline, I confess I have mislaid the number, but you may be able to locate him. He is not only a great and successful manufacturer, but he is just as good as he looks. Can I say more? [Applause.]

Then comes Louis Arthur Coolidge [applause], one of the truly preëminently versatile men at this table, who learned human nature as a newspaper man, then Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, a biographer of Ulysses Simpson Grant, but more than that, and this is why he sits here, he is the President of the League for the Preservation of American Independence, of Massachusetts [applause]; and he has led in Massachusetts the fight which Mr. Lodge has led in the country at large. Born in Natick, lives in Milton—a very violent transition.

Then comes a man, who, least of any man at this table, has ever needed a tonic. He never drags on his check-rein, but always at the curb, always interesting, always virile, Norman H. White, who was one of the Lodge leaders, in 1910-1911, when Mr. Foss *said* he was opposing Mr. Lodge for the Senate. Mr. White arranged that great Symphony Hall meeting, and marked it, in his characteristic way, by insisting that there be but four ornaments on the platform, which I will name in the order of their interest,

—a desk, a pitcher of water, a flag, and Henry Cabot Lodge [laughter].

Then comes Dr. Frederick C. Shattuck, a personal friend of Mr. Lodge, and a physician, but off duty, tonight [applause], so do not be nervous about your appendix.

Then comes Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow, the Proprietor of Boston's White House, where Theodore Roosevelt always lived, and where Mr. Lodge now lives.

And then, to tone up the table, we go back to Worcester, again, with Harry Worcester Smith, the other of the two versatile men, here; a great horseman, a great hunter, incidentally a success at business, and incidentally, I might add, a great admirer of Mr. Lodge [applause].

Then comes Ralph S. Bauer, a merchant of Lynn, a vigorous and picturesque figure in the political world [applause].

Then we come to the Hon. Joseph Walker, who has made but one mistake [laughter], and that was, in leaving Worcester [laughter].

And by his side, former Congressman Fowler, of New Jersey [applause], formerly Chairman of the great Committee on Banking and Currency, who succeeded Mr. Walker's father, the "Gray Eagle of Quinsigamond." This is why we place them together.

The last man to be offered up as a sacrifice is the Executive Secretary of this Club, who has done a great deal to make this dinner a success, William C. Drury.

Now that you have the atmosphere, now that you have the landscape, it is time to throw the ball onto the diamond. I cannot forget that you have come out, tonight, not only for a chance to hear, but for a chance to cheer.

Henry Cabot Lodge said to me, tonight, "Robert, be cautious" [laughter]. I am going to make a half-hearted effort so to be, simply because it is his dinner. That is all. But once in a while I am going to take the bit into my own teeth, because the rest of us have a few rights [laughter].

The text of this dinner, tonight, is to be found in the 22nd Chapter of St. Matthew, from the 19th to the 21st verses.

"And he saith unto them, Shew me the tribute money.
And they brought unto him a penny. And he saith
unto them, Whose is this image and superscription? They

say unto him, Caesar's. Then saith he unto them, Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's."

[Turning to Mr. Lodge.]

[Prolonged applause.]

That is the spirit of this great dinner. No man has lived who has not forgotten himself in the worship of a God, a great purpose, a good woman, or a great man. We are going to live, to-night, for we have found the hour, the place and the man.

There is a peculiar propriety in a dinner to Mr. Lodge by The Roosevelt Club—Lodge and Roosevelt were as close as any two men. Towards the great war, and a dictated and not a negotiated peace and its problems, they were in strong sympathy. When Roosevelt laid down his torch, Lodge continued to carry his on.

I have a letter here from a very loyal newspaper supporter of Mr. Lodge, the Editor of the *Boston Transcript*, James T. Williams, Jr. [applause], and with your permission I am going to read it to you. It is written as only a gentleman and a man of education can write a letter. There is nothing commonplace about it. It is marked all over with "Williams." Can I say more?

"Called away on the eve of The Roosevelt Club's dinner to Senator Lodge, I cannot go without expressing my appreciation of the Club's invitation and my sense of loss at being denied the privilege of joining in its tribute to one to whom this generation owes more than it will ever be able to pay. There sticks in my memory an incident that I witnessed as our senior senator was leaving the Capitol on the night that the Senate, under his leadership, returned to the White House, unratified, the unpurged Treaty of Versailles. A Democratic senator from the South, who, for reasons it is unnecessary to recall, had sacrificed his convictions in obedience to the executive will, broke through the crowd on the Capitol steps that was waiting to cheer the victorious leader in a great cause, and, putting his hand upon Senator Lodge's shoulder, said, with deep feeling:

"I want to congratulate you. There is hardly a senator on my side of the Senate who, in his heart,

does not love and admire you for your gallant fight.
Courage such as yours is what the country needs.'

"Over and above the vision of Straight Americanism that led him, over and above the deep conviction that spurred his every step, over and above the consistency with which the matchless interpreter of Washington's life and heritage steered the Senate's course in defence of Washington's conception of 'an American character' in foreign affairs, we owe, and those who come after us will treasure in grateful memory, the shining example of the patient, quiet courage that Senator Lodge has shown through it all—a courage that has taught his countrymen anew that—

'They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three.' "

[Applause.]

When, at some future day, I hope far distant, for may he live as long as he wants, Henry Cabot Lodge presents himself before Saint Peter to qualify for a seat in Paradise, he need simply file a certified copy of that great Resolution by the thirty-nine Senators, which first laid down the issue in this fight, and then rest his case. One of these Senators sits here, and the other writes this telegram, Hon. Frank B. Brandegee, and when Brandegee praises, every word is sincere :

"Am taking my first vacation in five years and deeply regret that I cannot be with you this evening to assure your distinguished assembly of the affection and admiration in which I hold Senator Lodge. His masterly leadership of the Senate furnishes one of the brightest pages in the history of our country. Long may he live to safeguard America."

[Applause.]

I have a letter, here, just like the writer, an original letter and a virile letter, from one of the strongest public speakers in the country, today, a man to whom the League never looked like very much of an open question, the Hon. William E. Borah of Idaho, sometimes called Borah, The Bitter [applause].

"I find, for reasons which I have already explained more fully, that it is going to be practically impossible for me to attend the dinner. I wish it were practical for me to be with you. I feel we all owe a debt of gratitude to Senator Lodge. The long struggle, through which we have been passing for months, to preserve the independence and to retrieve the honor of this country, has revealed in an unmistakable way his outstanding ability as a statesman and his undoubted Americanism.

"I do not recall, from the days of the younger Pitt until now, a man who has been called upon to lead a parliamentary battle under more difficult and complex circumstances and of graver moment, and who led it with such consummate tact and patience, and finally, with such ability and success. When the story is finally written of the long contest over the Treaty, Senator Lodge will take his place among the first in parliamentary warfare.

"Massachusetts has had many great and noble sons, whom she has been proud to honor, but, from my viewpoint, none more worthy of the admiration and commendation of the Old Commonwealth than Henry Cabot Lodge.

"I trust you will understand how deeply I regret I can not be present, and how sincerely I wish for all of you a great and delightful occasion."

[Applause].

There is one man whose presence we sorely miss, here, tonight. He was a pioneer for preparedness when there were but three: Theodore Roosevelt, Leonard Wood; and Augustus Peabody Gardner, who showed his fine spirit by the manner of his death. The transition, here, to him is a natural one, for he was like a son to the honored guest of the evening. It, therefore, may be fitting for me, now, to read to you a Resolution spread upon the Records of The Roosevelt Club, at his death:

AUGUSTUS PEABODY GARDNER

"Unique and stimulating, his charm and vigor set off in outline sharp against men anemic and palsied, in their hopes, in their fawning for favor and in their fear of

frowns, he gloried in a life outside the ruts; hand-made and not machine-made, too few of his kind; always going somewhere, and human enough to chance mistakes and big enough to overshadow them; true to his own nature, in times when politicians play a part, he was as much himself in public as in private life; a hard worker, a hard fighter, alive and courageous, brilliant and picturesque, the most interesting figure in many pages of the political history of the commonwealth; he leaves us with a touch of loss as of our own, and the world better for his having been of it."

Two great strong characteristics, individuality and virility. The first speaker of the evening is a man who has those two great qualities, individuality and virility, a man who dares to blaze his way outside the ruts, the Senior Senator from New Hampshire, Hon. George H. Moses.

MR. MOSES

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

My first duty of course is to assure you that I know exactly my destination, because I know my leader. My next is to congratulate The Roosevelt Club upon having weathered that period of infantile stress which is marked by eructation, eruption and contagion, and to wish for it a vigorous and prosperous future. And my third and chief duty, though confessing myself somewhat at a loss in finding myself on a program of three speakers only, and the other two being a Bishop and a Boss [laughter], to say to the distinguished guest of the evening what the toastmaster has omitted to say, namely, the truth [laughter]. Those of you who hail Lodge as a great leader little know him. As a matter of fact he is the reincarnation of Simon Legree [laughter], and he never said to those of us, the freshman members of the committee, who sat down at the lower end of the table, "Come," but he sent us forward under the lash of the slave driver [laughter]; and having thoroughly cowed the already submissive natures of Hiram Johnson and myself, he was able, through our timidity and docility, to achieve the great triumph which has been so graphically depicted by the presiding officer and which all the country and all the world now know.

But, Senator Lodge, those of us who have followed you in the last two years, those of us who have been with you in the thick of the fight which you planned and which you carried out so splendidly, can never tell and never find words to express that which we and all other Americans owe to you for your unswerving courage, for your splendid management and for the fine spirit in which you accepted the fruits of your great victory. And I rejoice to know that everyone of those 49 whom you held together and led—and voted *en bloc* time after time—will be with you in the Sixty-seventh Congress, ready to go with you into a fight or a frolic, and ready to obey your orders, whether they be “Come” or “Go.”

I hope you will pardon any touch of familiarity if I turn to you in paraphrase of the words which Eugene Field addressed to Charles A. Dana, and say to you,—

God bless you, Henry Cabot! May you live a thousand
years,

To help us on our journey through this weary vale of
tears.

And may I live a thousand, too—a thousand less a day;
For I wouldn't want to be on earth to hear you'd passed
away.

[Applause].

But of course I well understand that I am not here, ladies and gentlemen, merely for purposes of exhibition. Nor yet am I here as the holder of the great blue ribbon, as that man who in New England this summer has climbed over more stone walls, tramped over more acres of mowing and hoeing, rung more door bells, shaken more hands, kissed more babies and patted more dogs than any man of my years [laughter]. I understand that in the 25 minutes allotted to me I am to settle the whole course of our future foreign relations.

No one better than the distinguished Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee knows that one of my functions is to offer unsolicited advice [laughter], and I have never been troubled by the impudent demand made upon those of us who are variously styled “irreconcilables,” “bitter enders,” “shock troops.” I have never been disturbed by the demand of those who brought to us the Treaty of Versailles—a document which I can never fittingly

characterize [laughter]. It represents to me the foolish and fatuous work of Woodrow Wilson and the four other gagged and shackled Americans who accompanied him, aided by a regiment of 1300 experts, cartographers, statisticians, stenographers, interpreters, social secretaries, attachés and hangers-on, who wasted seven months in Europe, spent \$37,000 in laundry bills [laughter] and brought back to us a document which I may characterize as nothing better than a wretched rag. [Laughter.]

At any rate, it seems to have passed into the company of those whom the President-elect terms in language, the "deceased"; and, now that it has gone, those who are responsible for it turn to us and impudently say, "Well, what would you do?" That does not bother me at all, Mr. Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations. I am ready with a remedy.

I have sometimes claimed, ladies and gentlemen, that I am the only living expert on this League of Nations thing to be found in captivity. I helped make a league of nations once. I still possess as one of the most precious of my papers the original draft of the first document exchanged between the Governments of Greece and Bulgaria in the making of the Balkan League. I used to be somewhat amused when my classically-minded colleagues reached down into the recesses of early Hellenistic history and held up the Amphyctionic league to prove to us that the League of Nations idea was not new. I, myself, in the last ten years have seen four leagues of nations in operation in the theatre of their greatest activity, the Balkan Peninsula. One by one I have seen the four—the Balkan League, the Triple Alliance, the Triple Entente, and above them all the greatest, certainly the most powerful league of nations ever yet formed, the concert of great powers of Europe signatory to the Treaty of Berlin—I have seen them all four crumble and fall apart. And the significant thing about it, ladies and gentlemen, is that the one league of those four which lasted the longest and did its work the best was the one league of the four which never undertook to reduce its obligations to the form of a written instrument; was the one league of the four which never sought to compress its own members or the nations of the world within the straight-jacket of a treaty; was the one league of the four which never had to turn to the contract to determine what its obligations were; was the one league of the four in which no member could say to another, "Is it so nominated in the bond?"

The Triple Entente was formed by exchanges of notes, by declarations of policy and by oral conversation. And while it, with the other three leagues which I have seen, also crumbled and fell apart when Russia went out, I call you to witness, ladies and gentlemen, that when Russia went out from the company of the Triple Entente, Russia at the same moment went out from the society of civilized nations. But the two remaining partners went on with the work, went through to the end, and shared in the glory of the great victory. And so, when they ask of me, "Well, what would you do?", I declare unhesitatingly that I stand upon the base line of the Round Robin, a document more far-reaching in its consequences than was foreseen even by the courageous and brilliant leader who first signed the list—and to whom I am glad to say I was a blithesome fifth; a document more far-reaching in its consequences than any of us who signed it could believe; a document which in its essence declared the Constitutional prerogative of the President's equal partners in the treaty-making enterprise; and, a document which, more than that, clearly set up the differentiation between the two unrelated purposes which allured the President to Paris and which in the end were his undoing.

For reasons which he has never adequately made clear and which we may not conjecture lest we subject ourselves to criticism for attacking a poor, sick man who remains nevertheless strong enough to retain his grasp upon the great office which he admittedly cannot administer; for reasons which do little credit to the President's qualities of heart and head, however much they may administer to his ambition, Mr. Wilson formulated and was permitted to make good the impudent threat that he would tie the Covenant of his League of Nations into the body of the Treaty which his European colleagues at Versailles were writing to suit themselves and that when he brought the instrument back it would not be a cadaver.

This last prediction proved to be only partly true. The Treaty of Versailles, as it was laid before us, was living but moribund. Today, we turn from its coffin without tears and without rejoicing—except in the sober sense of gratitude that the nation has been spared the wearisome and wicked burden which the President's Treaty would have laid upon us; and we seek now the method with which we may achieve for ourselves and the world the only

purpose in the Treaty of Versailles which merits a challenge from our attention.

That purpose is to accomplish for ourselves the peace of which the President has sternly deprived us for more than two years and to make that peace not only for ourselves but for all the world.

This purpose the President has sought to accomplish through his League of Nations and in this moment of his decaying powers we will not seek to deprive him of the distinction of his good intent. Let us charitably say that he was mistaken; let us reluctantly admit that in his quality of spokesman and negotiator at Paris he was outwitted; let us recognize fully that his people have rejected his nostrum; let us see what we may do more wisely and more efficiently.

To me, as I have said, the course is distressingly simple; and involves no departure whatever from accepted diplomatic practice.

Even if we had ratified the Treaty of Versailles—with or without amendment and reservation—we still would find it necessary to complement that action by an ordinary treaty of Amity and Commerce. For the Peace Treaty, so far as the United States is concerned, brought us nothing beyond the establishment of a condition of technical peace consonant with the status of actual peace which we have dubiously enjoyed since November 11, 1918. For us the Treaty of Versailles contains nothing of special value; since we have neither asked nor been awarded reparation. For myself I have constantly looked upon the instrument as positively detrimental to the United States because of its abhorrent provisions tying us into the numerous enforcement commissions which make it operative, which deal with unrelated subjects of no concern to us and which force us to take the great responsibility of making and maintaining difficult and delicate decisions—decisions which can be maintained only by us and by us only through constant and costly expenditure of military force. Whatever of affirmative value the Treaty of Versailles brings to us we may secure by the immediate repeal of the Congressional Resolution which declared a state of war.

It is true that there will still remain some questions at issue between the nationals of the United States and the nationals of Germany. These, however, are of relative unimportance and turn merely upon the question of reciprocal rights to property

which the condition of war has rendered nebulous ; and they may be readily adjusted by a few extraneous clauses in a treaty of Amity and Commerce which we must have in any event and which will not greatly depart from its stereotyped character through the setting up of an international body along the lines of the Spanish Treaty Claims Commission for the determination of these issues.

This being done—and I share in the President-elect's hope that it may be done speedily after the fourth of March—there will be no let or hindrance to the establishment, in such form as we may determine, of some mechanism to minimize the menace of militarism, to prevent war and to preserve peace.

In point of fact, it is wholly possible and wholly within the limits of recognized international procedure to establish our own status of peace and to move forward for the peace of the world through the same instrument.

In June, 1919, the Senator from Pennsylvania, Mr. Knox, foreseeing the trap into which our lonely negotiator at Paris was being led, presented a resolution expressive of American opinion regarding the manner in which the Conference at Versailles should proceed. No man in or out of Congress was better qualified to formulate this opinion. His experience as lawyer, as Senator, as Attorney-General and as Secretary of State, joined to his great and undoubted patriotism, made him the fitting spokesman for the splendid ideal of American devotion to peace which has constantly illuminated the course of our international relations ; and his suggestion, if it had commanded adoption, would have shaped the policy of the Versailles Peace Conference, so far as we were concerned, to the imposing of a victor's peace upon our foe and synchronously of making a declaration of policy which would preserve the entire purpose of Mr. Wilson's League of Nations—and this with no contravention of our Constitutional system.

The Knox Resolution to which I refer was written in five sections ; and as I have lately turned to it I have been amazed to see how accurately the fifth paragraph fits into the situation which now confronts us, how closely it conforms to that policy which the President-elect has outlined, and how wholly it serves the great purpose which every sane man wishes to see carried out.

Its language is as follows : "Finally, it shall be the declared policy of our Government, in order to meet fully and fairly our ob-

ligations to ourselves and to the world, that, the freedom and peace of Europe being again threatened by any power or combination of powers, the United States will regard such a situation with grave concern as a menace to its own peace and freedom, will consult with other powers affected with a view to devising means for the removal of such menace, and will, the necessity arising in the future, carry out the same complete accord and co-operation with our chief co-belligerents for the defense of civilization."

Here, Mr. President, the United States meets its every obligation to the world; and if a similar declaration shall be made, either by parliamentary action or through an exchange of notes by other powers bound together by the same purpose, we shall have an Association of Nations which will fit everything that the President-elect has said he will seek, which will comport with our Constitution, which will bring the entire power of the United States to the side of those who would prevent war, which will contain everything that the United States can give and which will make an Association of Nations that neither parchment, sealing wax, blue ribbons, nor signatures affixed in any one's own name and own proper authority could make more binding, effective or obligatory.

Such a declaration of policy by us and the other powers actuated by a similar purpose will in no wise interfere with the codification of international law, the creation of a court to decide international differences, or any other measure which might be agreed upon to lessen the probability of war. And it would in every sense stand in that background where the President's League of Nations places force as a great moral agent whose constant tendency would be to encourage nations to come to agreements without a breach of the peace.

For such a declaration of policy I have once voted, for such a declaration of policy I shall vote again at the earliest opportunity. And I have no misgivings. The United States has never shrunk from any of its responsibility. No sane man wishes to thwart any mechanism which shall minimize the necessity for war, or which shall tend to perpetuate peace; but those of us who follow the lead of the guest of the evening are resolved now more firmly than ever that whenever the United States goes into an association of nations it will go in on terms of superiority, asserting its own leadership, sitting at the head of the table, possessing as

may votes as any other power represented there [cheers and applause], and maintaining always its own constitutional freedom of action. And I want to say to you, Mr. Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Delations, if you are not prepared to give us that kind of association from your place in the Senate, I want you to be sentenced to the Department of State and give it to us there.

THE CHAIRMAN.

I succeeded, the other day, in finding, in Massachusetts, a gentleman, I use the word with deliberation, who said he had voted for Mr. Cox. I asked him, why. He told me that Warren Harding was a very small man, and that he would be led about, and that he even would be owned. I told my friend that, even if this were so, that it was on just that ground that I was voting for Mr. Harding, because it would be a new sensation for me to have a President that I owned, rather than one that owned me [applause and laughter]. This is a brighter audience than I generally address [laughter].

The Republican party is said by some to be the party of monopoly, but there is just one monopoly from which it shrinks, and that is an intellectual monopoly. When Woodrow Wilson went abroad he told the people of France that the people were all with him,—meaning, probably, the people on the ship [laughter]. But you must remember that the people on the ship were in a very peculiar position. They had either to remain with him, or jump into the sea, and this presents a very serious alternative. They remained with him, as I should have remained with him, although I am a pretty loyal Republican.

The United States Senate wants in the White House, not a boss but a partner [applause], and they have found a man, who, whether he is large or small, is just small enough to take advice [applause], and he is just big enough to take advice from such men as Mr. Lodge and Mr. Moses and Mr. Weeks [applause]. The wise man in this world is the man who shapes his course, not on his mentality alone, but on the aggregate of the advice that he can get from wise counsel, for, as it is said in the Scriptures, in a multitude of counsellors there is safety.

There are four words on the wall behind me; "Washington," "Lincoln," "Roosevelt," and "Lodge." George Washington

made the country, Lincoln saved it. In 1920, marching together, the spirit of Roosevelt and the mind of Lodge have saved the country, again.

There are not many dinners like this, and there will not be many like it. Someone asked me, the other day, if The Roosevelt Club were still alive. This dinner is the answer.

I am going to introduce to you, now, a man who is a member of the Lodge class of '71 at Harvard, who has known Mr. Lodge for years. One pessimistic person said to me, the other day, "You cannot get a clergyman to pronounce a benediction over Mr. Lodge" [laughter]. It has been a very easy matter. We have not only got a clergyman, but we have got a Bishop, and if we had had another week, we would have had the Archbishop of Canterbury, here, and he would have jumped at the job [applause].

We have, here, tonight a man who has been the Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts for 27 years. He is the seventh Bishop. One served for 32 years, the longest term; the next for 30 years, the second longest; and the next speaker has served for 27 years. Apparently, 50 years old, he will soon make that 32 years look like three weeks. It is enough to say of him, that he successfully took up the arduous task of succeeding the great Phillips Brooks. He has not only the art of making Christianity interesting to the practical business man, but, more than that, he is a man of splendid business capacity. Only four years ago, he finished the great work of raising \$7,000,000 to take care of the clergy who had got to an age where they could not work. This is the man who has done this, and only last night, Mr. Lodge said to me, "You cannot begin to appreciate the amount of good that man has done"—William Lawrence [applause, all standing].

BISHOP LAWRENCE

You always learn something when you hear Washburn talk. I never knew how many years the different bishops reigned in Massachusetts. It is very interesting to me to discover that I have got to live so many years to surpass the terms of my predecessors.

Over 60 years of friendship, Mr. Toastmaster, cannot be compressed into an after-dinner speech.

As boys, Cabot Lodge and I, who were born in the same month,



At the Head Table, from Left to Right

WM. C. DRURY Dr. WM. STURGIS BIGELOW C. N. FOWLER Dr. F. C. SHATTUCK NORMAN WHITE JOSEPH WALKER R. S. BAUER
 WM. WHITMAN MR. LODGE R. M. WASHBURN BISHOP LAWRENCE MR. MOSES JOHN W. WEEKS J. E. WARNER
 F. B. HALL S. W. JONES GEO. H. ELLIS SAMUEL SPRING J. M. GALVIN R. D. WARE

Dinner by the Roosevelt Club in honor of
 John Henry Cabot Lodge
 Hotel Somerset Boston Nov. 20, 1920.

whose surnames begin with L, sat beside each other at school for five years; and in college, except when a youth called Lewis inserted his body between us, for four years more.

In the summers at Nahant we played together, rowed and sailed together; and with other boys swam and dived off the rock, which because of our state of nature, allowed to boys in those happy bathing days, has ever since been called Cupid Rock, and will so stand in the chronicles of Nahant [laughter].

The boys of that day delighted in destruction, more I think than boys do in these later times. How well I remember one sunny morning when three of us, Cabot included, smashed the windows of his mother's stable and other buildings, and the exciting chase from the Lodge's gardener. Our boyhood was the middle of the 19th century, and in the halcyon days of New England's provincial glory.

Let me recall the background to Cabot Lodge's boyhood. We were born in the very middle of the 19th century and in the same month. He is a good deal older than I am, though [laughter]. He was born the 12th of May, and I was born later [laughter]. As he was trundled by his nurse along the sidewalk of Winthrop Place and Summer Street, such neighbors as Daniel Webster and Rufus Choate, George Bancroft and Wendell Phillips looked upon his cherubic face [laughter].

As he played upon the Nahant piazza, Longfellow, Charles Sumner, Agassiz, Prescott, Lothrop Motley and the merchant princes of Boston conversed. Some of these men and others, Dr. Holmes, Francis Parkman, the Lees, Eliots and Lowells became his friends and counselors.

In boyhood in his father's new house on Beacon Hill, he lived next to the beautiful and historic mansion of John Hancock, and next beyond was the State House. Every regiment passing in review before Governor Andrew in the Civil War marched under his window.

His family stock on both sides was of marked patriotism. George Cabot, his great-grandfather, was a distinguished statesman of his day, a friend of Washington and close friend of Alexander Hamilton. His was a home of exceptional culture; both parents were saturated with the best of English literature.

At ten years of age he had read with avidity every Waverley novel. His tastes were scholarly. In college he read rather than

studied, and absorbed as much of the social and theatrical as he did the academic life. Upon the stage he looked and acted well the part of a girl [laughter], and as a playwright made his mark.

Entering upon the happiest of marriages on the very day after graduation, one of the hottest days I ever felt, he concentrated almost immediately upon a life of literature. Henry Adams kindled his love of history, and from that time on he has been an industrious and ceaseless worker.

Some men, even some Senators, imagine that at their birth history begins; and that men and nations may start anew upon any theories they may propound.

Cabot Lodge's historic interest and study have held his vision in true perspective; human experiences throughout the ages are knitted together, warp and woof, and nations move on from history to history, and the wise student gains prophetic vision of coming events.

Soon his ancestry, his associations and the unconscious and mysterious working of events thrust Cabot Lodge into political life. I have never been able to discover what else drove him there. His temperament and tastes were aristocratic, exclusive and very refined. And even in the hurly-burly of politics, henchmen, the shouts of rallies and the handshaking of the masses, he has never completely lost himself in that phase of democracy.

The real power that drove him, I am inclined to believe, was his ancestral stock—they were patriots, he would be a patriot—and a fine ambition—he loved his country and he would give his life in her service.

His entrance into national politics came at a most unfortunate time. Mr. Blaine, who to the mind of the finest and most sensitive of the American people, stood for the worst elements in the Republican party, was nominated for the Presidency. Most of Mr. Lodge's political friends bolted. Loyalty to purity and independence of party affiliations was their test of patriotism.

Cabot Lodge, who had opposed the nomination of Mr. Blaine, convinced that party government was essential to the good government of the country, and that unless the party were traitorous, loyalty to party outweighed consideration of persons, stood, therefore, by the Republican party; and although by his conduct he showed no sympathy with its candidate, he found himself deserted by most of his old friends, who felt that he had traduced the cause of high character in political life.

In that struggle was cemented with Theodore Roosevelt a friendship which, through Roosevelt's unique power of bringing forth from every man the best that was in him, has for these past 40 years brought to the front and into the service of his country much of the finest elements that were latent in the character of Cabot Lodge.

Unlike in some essential features, disagreeing often in secondary matters, they were throughout in agreement upon the fundamental principles of the Constitution, the Federal Government, purity of administration, and the integrity of the nation.

This very week Theodore Roosevelt's eldest sister told me that in the early election days Theodore sat up into the night waiting for the election returns, always insistent that he must hear the result of Cabot's election, and going to bed with a contented heart as soon as the telegram announcing his election came from his friend.

Our guest has the faculty or misfortune of being frequently misunderstood. There were years when many thought him lukewarm or hostile to civil service reform. Roosevelt as Civil Service Commissioner named him as the chief and leading supporter of the cause.

Their knowledge of history and statecraft convinced these two that mediæval Spain was an anachronism in the Western world; and when the menace went beyond endurance and the *Maine* was destroyed, they led in the determined stand of the United States; and it was Roosevelt, the Assistant Secretary of the Navy who with and by the advice of Lodge sent the momentous preparatory telegram to Dewey. In his published autobiography, as he has said to me again and again, Roosevelt wrote: "Throughout his quarter of a century service in the Senate and House, Cabot Lodge has ever stood foremost among those who uphold with farsighted fearlessness and strict justice to others our national honor and interest."

When the great war opened in August, 1914, and the Germans, breaking faith with this as well as other nations, sent their army through Belgium, these two men with others grasped the situation, and reiterated their demand for preparation in case we were driven to war; and with the sinking of the *Lusitania* they were clear and outspoken that the safety as well as the honor of the nation demanded immediate action. What a saving of life and

treasure and honor to this country had their counsels been followed!

War came, and with it the hurried scramble for preparation and action. Unsympathetic at almost every point with the methods and principles of the Administration, tingling with passion at evident delays, inefficiency and partisanship, even when the Nation's safety was at stake, Cabot Lodge never once wavered in supporting the Administration in every act, resolve and enterprise for the honor of the country, the prosecution of the war and final victory [applause].

Before and in the early days of the war, a magnificent ideal had been gaining a hold upon a part of the American people—that of a federation or family of Nations, whereby mutual understanding could be gained, war superseded and perpetual peace attained.

Very few men had thought the subject through to the practical conclusions. We were captivated by the ideal. And when the amnesty was declared, that vision glowed with life before millions of those who had given of their best in the war.

When the President went to France, he carried with him, I believe, the hopes of the mass of his fellow citizens that in some way and at some time in the near future that vision might be realized.

How vividly that brilliant scene comes before us when on February 24, 1919, Mr. Wilson, landing at Boston, went through our streets amidst the triumphant applause of the multitudes! With him he brought the proposed Covenant of the League of Nations. Had the day come when people were to beat their swords into plowshares, and there was to be war no more?

Soon the book was opened and the particular practical application of the ideal began to dawn upon those who took the trouble to read and study the Covenant.

I remember well the first time that I read these words, "The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League."

I could hardly believe my eyes, and I read it again and again, and repeated to myself: "This nation undertakes to preserve against external aggression every boundary created by the great Treaty of Peace."

The essence of a treaty is clearness of statement and the least

possible ambiguity in statement of conditions. Conditions were stated—exactly what was not clear. These were only moral obligations we were told. One statement was, however, clear, “to preserve against external aggression every boundary.”

The reaction from the ideal to the practical application was an awful disappointment, and a shock. I wrote to Senator Lodge on the moment, that I did not see how any American could support that clause. If it meant what it said, it involved not peace, but perpetual war; if it did not mean what it said, it was a “scrap of paper.” [Applause.]

The Senator from New Hampshire has already told you of the struggle. I need not pass through that. He knows; I do not. We only know that there was statesmanship and leadership with patience and thought worthy of the highest traditions of the best statesmanship, in the history of this country.

Upon the Senior Senator from Massachusetts, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations under former Administrations, student of international law, statesman experienced in the making and interpretation of treaties, fell the responsibility of guiding and leading the people of this land to an intelligent appreciation of the significance of the covenant.

He and a small band of Senators, for upon the Senate rested, under the Constitution, great responsibility, undertook to rebuild in the hearts and consciences and intelligence of the people the conviction of the integrity, the duty and the independence of this Nation.

The story of these 18 months has been streaked with passion and tragedy; it has also been illuminated by the gradual revelation of 100,000,000 of people of the grandeur and power of their country, “the land of the free and the home of the brave.”

And in this great campaign the heart, mind and voice of Cabot Lodge, through whom has seemed to come the life and voice of Theodore Roosevelt, have led.

Politician, Cabot Lodge may be at times, but in this crisis he has been moved only by the deepest sense of duty, of love for his country, and a desire to see her so stand that in time she may best serve all the nations of the world [applause].

May I add two more thoughts, Mr. Toastmaster, and I am done.

By the overwhelming vote of the American people the Republi-

can party is in power, the Covenant of the League of Nations as presented is dead; but the ideal of the people which gave the first promptings to the League is alive, living in the hearts and minds of disappointed, expectant and loyal citizens.

Those who led in the great campaign of education and loyalty have now a greater task, that of such constructive leadership and legislation as will place this Nation where she may take her place and do her worthy part among the nations of the world.

Before one can give of his life for another, he must have a strong and individual life to give. We have now gained our integrity. America is first in our hearts. But so long as we are citizens of the world, America cannot be all in all to her people; she never has been. Again and again she has sprung to the service of others.

There is now an existent League of Nations. Will our Nation enter into it, and under what conditions? If not, what will she do? Something she must do—not hurriedly, but as the way opens—and the way must open—whereby this Nation takes a leading part in international comity and understanding, in international action, which will lead toward a deepening sense of brotherhood, and just and lasting peace.

Finally, my old friend, let me say of you and before you what few of these guests know, that beneath your occasional sharpness of tongue and vigor of language and deed, there rests one of the tenderest of hearts, and a sentiment as sweet and refined as any man would wish to have, and a sentiment of such delicacy and refinement and affection as belong to those who are of the choice characters of the world [applause].

THE CHAIRMAN.

When Bishop Lawrence says it has been a glorious victory, he is well within the facts, for I have heard no one, as yet, suggest a recount. Here is the man [pointing at Mr. Lodge], who made the issue, which made the victory, which saved the Constitution.

(Introducing Mr. Lodge.)

While this dinner has been, technically, in progress for only about three hours, I am authorized, by Bishop Lawrence, and by the Proprietor of the *Concord Moni-*

tor (Senator Moses), to state, that it is, only now, in substance, about to begin. Under the exigencies of the situation in which I find myself, I can hear, in my imagination, the sound of the Judge's bell, and the beat of the hoofs of the horses upon the soft surface of the backstretch, music to the ears of the sportsman. When the sun hangs high in the heavens, and its rays beat down hot upon the track, then is trotted the three minute class [pointing to Senator Moses], and then, the 2.30 class [pointing to Bishop Lawrence]. When the sun begins to droop and reach the western horizon, and its heat is mellowed by the dying hours of the day, then is jogged out upon the track the great Lou Dillon, in her race against time, and the sportsman hangs over the rail. Even now, the grooms are struggling with the coverings of the great thoroughbred, and I hasten to help them to hasp the last buckle of the last boot.

No dinner is a success unless built up to a climax. When the speaker of the evening strikes his stride, even that climax will continue to climax.

The Literary Department of The Roosevelt Club submits this Resolution for adoption :

Resolved, at a Dinner of five hundred loyal American men and women, given by The Roosevelt Club, in honor of the Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, our strong obligation to him. Senior Senator from Massachusetts, Leader of the Senate, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, he has successfully lead the great struggle for the preservation of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, in the third crisis of the country. Like a Sentinel on his own rocks of Nahant, with penetrating and protecting eye towards the Nations of Europe, his thoughts, his hopes, his struggles have been, ever, first, for America. We recognize, in him, A Great Defender of the Faith. Our hearts are his. He is our own.

Those in favor of its adoption will stand [all rise]. It is a unanimous vote.

Henry Cabot Lodge first fastened himself upon the attention

of the country, as a man of letters, and also as an efficient public speaker. I like that expression better than that tired term, "orator,"—an efficient public speaker. He is the great Scholar of the Senate, having shared that distinction, at one time, with the late Senator George Frisbie Hoar, of Worcester.

Strong, in the simplicity of his style, many men in this room remember, back in 1908, in the old days before the direct primary [laughter], and before the people began to rule, we had a great State Convention, and the issue was, whether we should pledge our delegates, to Chicago. Augustus Peabody Gardner, always interesting, led down from Essex County a band of his own fighting Indians, and said to them, "We will take father's scalp back to the Essex district." Then Henry Cabot Lodge went to work on that great gathering, he addressed it as only he could, and, under the power of his oratory, that once fighting band of Indians became a demoralized rout of anemic women [laughter].

You have read those beautiful words of his, from his tribute to Massachusetts, in his debate with John E. Russell, Democratic Congressman from the old Tenth Worcester District, when democratic congressmen, there, were curios, only to be found in museums:—

"MASSACHUSETTS.

"We love the old State. The sand hills of the Cape, with the gulls wheeling over the waste of waters; the gray ledges and green pastures of Essex, with the seas surging forever on her rocks; the broad and fruitful valleys of the Connecticut; the dark hills and murmuring streams of Berkshire, have to us a tender charm no other land can give. They breathe to us the soft message that tells of home and country." [October, 1891.]

You remember him in another great speech, and no greater speech was ever heard than that in Symphony Hall, in 1911, when he spoke these words, a splendid enunciation of his Americanism, today.

"I am a Senator of the United States. My first allegiance as an American is to the great nation founded, built up, preserved by heroic sacrifices and untold treas-

ure. My first loyalty is to that bright flag in which the stars glitter and to which we bare our heads in homage as it floats above our soldiers and our sailors, and the sight of which dims our eyes and chokes our throats when we see it in a foreign land." [*Lodgical* in 1920.]

You remember his tribute to Theodore Roosevelt, at a great memorial service in the Senate of the United States, in 1919, when he closed with this quotation:—

"'So Valiant-for-Truth passed over, and all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side.'"

These are words, almost swamping in their power of emotional appeal, which even he dreaded to approach.

That is the man as he was. Today, he has become a Parliamentary and a Patriot. There has been a transition. Few men in this great room know the price he has paid, in fighting this fight. Few men, here, know the drain on the physique of two, long, hot summers in the City of Washington. There he has stood, like Horatius at the bridge, fighting that fight, living out, almost literally, those beautiful words of Longfellow:

"A youth, who bore 'mid snow and ice,
A banner, with the strange device,
Excelsior!"

Most men, when they have lived to three score years and ten, are content to rest. He has but touched the peak of his development. He is, today, not only in the full vigor and bloom of his mental strength, but he has only just begun to bloom.

We have determined to mark this occasion with a gift. [Displaying a bronze elephant]. It is suitably inscribed, among others, with the words, "A Great Defender of the Faith." It is but a symbol; that is all. I do not care what it cost, you do not care what it cost, I hope that he does not care what it cost [laughter]. Why? Because it is simply a symbol. If we had set out to make its purchase price commensurate with its purpose, there is not money enough in Boston to measure up to what we would have paid for that small bronze elephant.

It is but a symbol of two propositions. It is but a symbol of the Grand Old Party, represented, for years, by an elephant. It is simply fabricated, with rare propriety, its trunk rampant, a

trumpeter, a fighter [laughter and applause]. And we are giving it, here, tonight, to the Keeper of the G.O.P. in the State and in the Nation [laughter]. We are giving it, tonight, to the man who has, largely, made the party what it is, from Minot's Ledge to Unalaska.

And yet that is but a small part of its symbolism. It is a symbol of something far more than dollars, it is a symbol of something far more than party, it is a symbol of that one word for which we all live, and that word is "friends,"—friends, whom we set above the financial returns of life, or any distinction, political or otherwise. It is what the worst of us and the best of us live for. It is the respect, and more than that, the affection, of those with whom we live. In that spirit, sir, and only in that spirit, I hand you what, otherwise, is but mean and uninteresting [presenting bronze elephant to Senator Lodge].

[Mr. Lodge was greeted with prolonged cheers and applause, the members and guests standing and so manifesting their approval and admiration.]

MOST HIGHLY-PRIZED



IN CAPTIVITY
AT 1765 MASS. AVE.
WASHINGTON

Caught by the Kodak after
reading the Returns of Nov. 2-20

By "Norman "

MR. LODGE

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen:

The English language is one of the richest and most splendid that has ever been given to the sons of men, and yet I have often felt, and never so much as tonight, that it is not rich enough in expressions of gratitude. The mightiest genius who ever wrote the English tongue I think recognized it when Hamlet said, as I now say,

“Beggar that I am, I am even poor in thanks, and yet I thank you” [applause].

I am deeply grateful to your presiding officer, Mr. Washburn, and to The Roosevelt Club, which bears a name very dear to me. It is the first Club, I think, to take that name after the great leader's death. I am very grateful to them for having honored me as they have tonight, for all that has been said in the Resolution, and by your Chairman, and said also by this gift [bronze elephant] which I shall always cherish. It is a moment when the Republican elephant is certainly entitled to trumpet and also be ready for a fight [laughter].

For all that has been said, I repeat, I cannot find sufficient words of gratitude. I am particularly touched by what has been said by Bishop Lawrence. We have been companions in boyhood, and friends of a life time. He has never hesitated, as you may have guessed, to express disapproval to me when he disapproved, and he has never hesitated to aid me and support me when he felt that I deserved it.

He has referred to the time when the League of Nations was first spread before the country. The general feeling then was, for nobody had studied it or examined it, that it was to make secure the world's peace, and that we must all be for it. I felt, and so did some others who were obliged to study it, that it contained in its paragraphs, so loosely drawn, great dangers to the United States.

We were not many when we began the fight. Before the fight had really begun in the Senate, we had published to the world what was called the round-robin by the newspapers,—I suppose because it was not a round-robin, but was simply a resolution signed by 39 Senators, and at that time I remember very well, when I was here in Boston, I received a letter from Bishop Lawrence, broad, tolerant, wise, and calling attention to the fact that this was a document which ought not to be accepted by the people of the United States without the gravest consideration. He also published a letter in *The Churchman* to the same effect, and nothing could have helped me so much at that time. It gave me great courage to go on.

He has been a strong support and help to me always, and I have followed his great career with all the pride that affection brings; not so much pride that he has risen to the highest position in the church, but because he has risen to something still higher than any position that man can give,—to a noble, widespread, spiritual and moral influence which has been felt throughout all this great community which he has now served so long.

I also feel very greatly touched by the messages which were sent by Mr. Williams, and by two of the Senators with whom I was closely associated, and by what my friend from New Hampshire [Senator Moses] has been good enough to say. As he was speaking I was reminded of Lord Salisbury of whom it used to be said, that he was occasionally guilty of blazing indiscretions, but I observed that in spite of the statement Lord Salisbury rose to be the leader of his party and prime minister. Blazing indiscretions depend very largely on the person who utters them. And if my friend Moses is occasionally said to be guilty of a blazing indiscretion I can only say that they frequently prove very valuable, and that he has been one of the most loyal, staunch, earnest friends that any man charged with responsibility in public life ever had by his side [applause]. His wide knowledge, derived from four years of diplomatic service, of diplomacy and history of the nations of Europe, placed him on the Foreign Relations Committee with the general consent of all the Senators on both sides, in his first year, and the fight that was made in the Senate, whatever I contributed to it, was due to those Senators, chiefly Republicans, but with Democrats among them, who showed the greatest possible courage, who thought nothing of their own faith

or of the faith of the party to which they belonged, and who were all alike determined that that League as it stood should not pass.

I am not going now to trace the history of that long battle, but my feeling has always been one of gratitude to the Republican Senators of whom I was the official leader by their kindly choice. Although there were wide differences among us we all managed to work together for the same result, and I think that it might be said of those Republican Senators and the Democrats who aided them, that they framed the issue. They formulated the great question which rose above all others in the campaign which has just been concluded.

We desired above all things that if it could be reached without artificial obstruction or delay, to bring that question before the American people [applause]. We had to have time only to educate them, to make them understand what was in that League, and how it affected America. That was done. The result is written in the returns of November 2nd [applause].

The magnitude of the victory is difficult even now for me to measure. Don't think for a moment that, standing here tonight, I am going to assert that it was merely a Republican victory. If anyone noticed as I did the discussions before the people, they must have been struck I think as I have been struck by how little we have heard of the direct party appeal in the great election [applause]. The speeches and discussions were almost entirely devoted to the great issue. What the Republican party did was to furnish the organization,—a great mass of organized men, to stand up as a party for certain principles. That was an immense service and leaves the responsibility for the result largely with the Republican organization. But the victory which we won on Tuesday was an American victory, one of American votes. They came from all quarters, from all parties, from men who had been associated with other parties, perhaps for a lifetime. They came from the Americans of foreign birth without regard to race. They rallied in the way they did, men and women, and went to the polls because they were convinced after they had studied the question that two great dangers threatened this country, one that there was an insidious attempt carried out in a large measure to change the American system of government; and the other to commit us to an alliance which involved obligations which the United States ought never to assume.

Three times it has happened in this way. In 1860 and 1861 the country was plunged into the Civil War, in which the life of the nation was at stake, and the Republican party was the organized political organization which stood with the Union and for the freedom of the slave [applause]. Patriotism was not confined to the Republican party. The Democratic organization, the Democrats in Congress, resisted the Civil War throughout, and in 1864 declared it a failure. But Democrats by the thousands came to the support of their country and shed their blood on every battle field of the United States just as Republicans did, because they were Americans first. We happened to be the organization to which they had to rally. There was no other organization standing for the best interests and for the life of America.

Again, in 1896, when our whole financial structure was threatened by the silver movement, and the 16-to-1, again the Republican party was the instrument and the only instrument which the American people could take in order to save the country from what seemed financial dishonor and national bankruptcy.

And now, the third time has come,—and has passed. And again, as a Democratic Senator said to me, "This is the third time that the Republican party has stood as the only bulwark in defense of America." That is the part which the Republican party has played. This vast majority was given to us because thousands upon thousands of men thought as Americans that we represented the American cause and the United States [applause].

It was a great victory. The majority poured in like a flood over the country and some of the newspapers which have been doing everything they could in the most extreme manner to support Mr. Wilson and elect Mr. Cox [laughter], when they had hardly got their heads above water, hardly got their eyes clear, immediately began to make President Harding's cabinet and tell the Republican party what they ought to do [laughter]. One of them said that nothing was settled about the League by the election; that the League was just where it was. In a sense that is true [laughter]. It is in the White House, where we sent it [laughter]. But in a larger sense it is difficult to understand how any intelligent man could say it, and yet I saw an article written by a very intelligent man, in a newspaper about it. The fact is, I suppose, that evidence did not interest him [laughter].

But we have a heavy responsibility, and we have a great debt which we owe to those that came with us from other parties. To them we owe a debt, and we want to retain them and keep them with us. We want them to feel that they have not made a mistake in trusting us. And as I have reflected on the results, I confess that the feeling of exultation which I could not help having has given way to a feeling of sobriety and to a sense of the gravity of the situation which we must encounter.

Some people seem to think that we got possession of the government on the 2nd of November. Under the Constitution we shall not get possession of it until the 4th of March, and not much can be done in the interval. That will leave us only 18 months before the next national election comes, and I am going to make a plea here tonight that those who have joined with us in winning this great victory exercise patience. Congress must meet at once after the 4th of March. I am sure President Harding will call it together and we will begin on our task.

It would take me hours to go over the questions which confront Congress, and I wish to call your attention to only a few of them simply to tell you what we are going to try to do, and to ask you to remember how much it is and not expect us to perform miracles, as Mr. Burleson says he has done with the post office [laughter]. We promise no millenium, it is not to be expected, but those things that we can do and the country expects, I hope will be done, and that we shall get credit for the effort that we make.

We are fortunate in having as President a man of great calmness of temperament. Modest, sincere, thoroughly patriotic, a man who has been during this campaign not calling names, but from day to day, in nearly 200 speeches, laying before the people those things which he wishes to do and explaining to them his policies, and we may rely absolutely on one thing, that Senator Harding will bring into his cabinet and everywhere else where the Administration appoints, the very best men he can find. He is altogether too big a man to be unwilling to take advice [applause].

Let me call your attention to what we have to do. The country expects and rightly expects that there will be new and progressive legislation, what is called social welfare legislation, for the benefit of the people, to improve conditions, to protect the weak, to

do all that is possible to help our people to better conditions of life, and this will be undertaken. And let me say to you that those laws which are called social welfare laws are, on the whole, the easiest to pass and have the most general support. It is believed and commonly said that it is legislation like the child labor laws in which women take an especial interest. I think they would pass,—less quickly perhaps,—but if that is true they certainly will pass with great rapidity.

We have to deal with the question of our soldiers. Congress has appropriated for vocational training \$130,000,000, and it is to the highest degree discreditable that until recently very little was being done. Most of the first appropriations went in paying for quarters and clerks. That is only one thing, there is much else to do for the soldiers, and Congress must deal with it in the largest spirit of generosity, because to them the debt of gratitude of the country is very great indeed, the greatest debt that any country can owe to any portion of its citizens.

Here is another thing which, among the first, must be attended to. It is going too far to say that the departments and the organizations of administration are wrecks. They are not. They are still functioning, but they are demoralized from top to bottom. The idea of autocracy has gone from the top of the pay roll down through the whole structure. They have spent money and wasted the money in a way that baffles imagination. They must be reorganized and put back on a business like basis. I know that the President will get the best men possible, and with the best men that can be brought into the cabinet, I do not exaggerate I think when I say, that it will be three or four years before we can get the departments back into a position where they can operate as they did before the war. We must also economize.

We do not realize even now what the waste of money has been, or the way it has been thrown away. This generous and patriotic people whose one desire was to win the war with Germany, paid out their money, asked no questions, and gave without stint or reckoning. This fact instead of making the Administration more careful as it should have made them, caused them simply to run wild. As a friend said to me today, they made the proverbial drunken sailor seem like a miser [laughter].

We must have economy. The Republican Congress at the last session saved a million and a quarter on the estimates. But you

can get no thorough economy unless you have the departments and those who run them in full sympathy.

We have to deal with taxation. I fear that it is not likely that we can greatly reduce the total amount of taxation, but it can be readjusted, it can be made fair in its incidence. We can have a law that can be understood without the aid of a lawyer,—and they don't understand it, usually. We can simplify it and bring it to a condition where it would at least be as just and as little painful as taxes can be made. The Revenue Law, the tax bills, and the Revenue Laws and the taxes go together, they must all be revised, and that is an immense task and very very difficult.

I am a Protectionist, but I am not speaking in that capacity at this moment when I say that one thing which ought to be remedied is to get from duties on imports their proper share of the burden of taxation [applause].

We must deal with the bonds. We have got eight billions of bonds to refund in the next three years. I was on the Committee on Finance when the bond bills were passed. I protested and had some argument with the Secretary of the Treasury in regard to it, in the hearings before the Committee, and I protested against the low rates that were put upon our bonds. Of course the credit of the United States is better than any other, and we can borrow at a lower rate. But finally the bonds of the United States, like everybody else's bonds, have to meet the market. Either by exemption or by higher rates it will be necessary to bring those bonds to a position which the Government bonds ought to occupy, and that is about par.

I made the point in the Finance Committee that we could probably get the money, as we did get it, at lower rates than the Government of today, owing to the patriotism of the country and the war excitement among the people. We did get it in just that way, and then came the unfavorable decline when the excitement subsided and the people who suffered the most were the people who took \$100 or \$200 or perhaps up to a thousand dollars, and who did it in order to help their country. Some of them were compelled to sell the bonds at a loss and they have taken the loss, although they had been told on every stump, in all the drives that were made, by those speaking for the Government, that the bond that was given to them was worth a gold dollar, and that they could take it anywhere and get a gold dollar for it. And then,

finally, owing to the fact that the rates were too low, the bonds fell as they were bound to fall, when they had to meet the market, and people suffered and lost which leads me to say that they have been wrongly treated. Nothing is more important to this country than the wide distribution of the bonds of the United States. It is an anchor, it is a guaranty, it is a help to safety and to financial soundness. Those who have been compelled to sell cannot be reimbursed, but many have held on, and when we come to the refunding we ought to refund at rates which would enable those people to whom it means so much, the small holders, allow them to take the new bonds at a proper rate and one which will enable them to sell their bond without serious loss if they have to sell it, or hold it with a sufficient payment of interest until it comes due [applause].

Those things that I have mentioned I think anyone can see are going to take a great deal of time and require a great deal of effort. Then there is a question which is pressing on us now, and ought to be dealt with at once, and that is the question of immigration [applause]. There is a bill pending in Congress which we did not succeed in passing. There is a flood of immigration now pouring in from Europe, and not from the most desirable parts of Europe. The law is not enforced as it should be, and there are immigrants coming in here who are coming in not for the purpose of becoming American citizens and helping to build up the country, but people who are sent here from Russia with a view to starting every kind of agitation, against the Government of the United States [applause].

We need some stronger legislation and more restriction. We are obliged also to face the great question of Asiatic immigration. There they are, those 700,000,000 people in India and China, to say nothing of Japan, those 800,000,000 of people who threaten to pour into this country. It is not a question of racial prejudice. It is a simple question of whether we are willing to sacrifice our standard of life, and submit ourselves to a competition which we cannot meet except by that sacrifice, and this cloud hangs over every English-speaking country in the Pacific. To show that I am not prejudiced against all agreements, let me say that I should like very much to see this question of Asiatic immigration dealt with unitedly by Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand. The shadow hangs darkest over Australia. It is the

same threat to every one of the English-speaking peoples who border on the Pacific. Nothing can be truer than that no nation has the right to send its people into this country or any other country where they are not welcome. If immigration can be forced upon this country by another, we are a subject and a tributary nation. We have no desire to force immigration from the United States upon any other country in the world. Whether another nation shall accept or exclude immigrants as Chinese have been excluded by the Japanese we have nothing to say, but who shall come into the United States and who shall become citizens here, is for us and us alone to settle [applause]. And we don't mean war when we say it, for no country ought to dispute that proposition. We should not think of disputing it, and it must not be disputed by others. One great objection among many to the League of Nations Covenant was that we should leave the question of immigration, and who should come into the United States, to be settled by the League [applause].

Now, about the League; don't get alarmed, I am not going into the details of that intricate subject. But I have fallen into the habit of talking about it—not in the Senate so much as before the people. I have tried to lay before you a few of the most important questions which must engage the attention of the Administration and the Congress after March 4th next. I cannot close without alluding to one which has risen above all others in the discussions of the campaign. In what I am about to say I speak merely as a Republican, basing my opinions entirely on the declaration of the policies so well and clearly outlined by the party's candidate, Senator Harding, in his public speeches during the campaign. I have no thought of arguing the question of the League. That has been amply done before the great tribunal of the people, and the verdict was rendered on November 2nd.

I merely wish to say a word in supplement to what has been said tonight by the Senator from New Hampshire in regard to this most important subject as it stands at this moment. The Republican party in its platform declared its policy to be the establishment of an arrangement or agreement or entente, call it whatever you like, with other nations for the promotion of the world's peace. They condemned the covenant of the League of Nations brought from Paris by Mr. Wilson, and approved the action of the Senate in opposing it. Mr. Cox declared that he

was ready to go into the League formed by Mr. Wilson, and submitted by him to the Senate. Senator Harding declared he was opposed to going into that League. This issue was as plain as any issue could be and the people by a majority in the neighborhood of seven million approved the attitude and the action of Mr. Harding and the Republican party.

The people of the United States have declared, therefore, that they will not accept the treaty which he brought here and laid before the Senate of the United States. So far as the League that he brought home is concerned, that League is dead, because the people have spoken in terms which cannot be misunderstood [applause].

The future was left open, and in my opinion, very wisely. The Republican party declined to bind themselves six months in advance, as to their action upon a question like that of the League of Nations which necessarily would be greatly affected by the conditions in Europe. Senator Harding and the Republican party are therefore entirely free to deal with this great question after March 4, 1921, unhampered by any platform promises as to methods and details, and they purpose to do so in accordance with Senator Harding's declarations made during the campaign.

The country, by overwhelming majorities, has confided the future of the United States to the coming Administration and the new Congress. The President and the Congress chosen by the people of the United States for that purpose will deal with this great question of our policy abroad. It will not be further dealt with in any way by an Administration which has been discarded and which has little more than three months to live [applause].

It is for the Administration of President Harding and those who support him in the Senate and House to endeavor to bring about some arrangement with other nations for the promotion and security of the world's peace, if other nations desire to join with us, as I hope and believe they will. The responsibility is very great, but we do not shrink from it, and we are confident that a result can be obtained by following the policies outlined by Senator Harding, which will enable us to encourage the peace of the world without incurring dangers to our independence and to our Constitutional system of Government, to which the people of the United States will not submit.

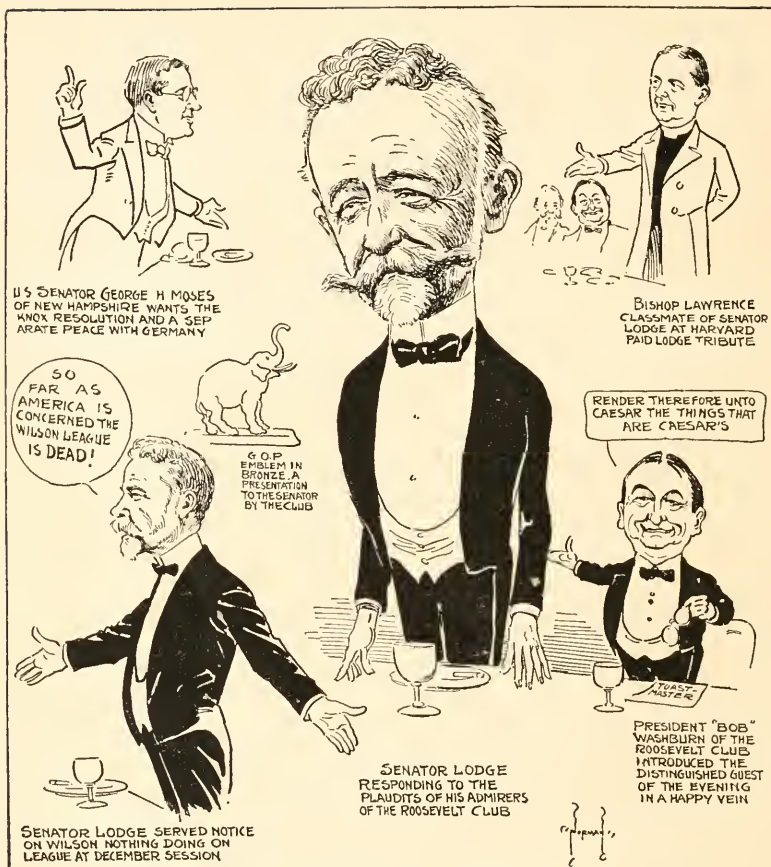
The American people are as earnest in advancing the cause of

peace as any people in the world, but they have shown by their votes their conviction that they can best serve this great cause by remaining masters of their own fate and not submitting their future in any degree to the control of other nations [applause].

Just a word in conclusion: In the Resolution which you so kindly passed, for which I am so grateful, and on the elephant which is now mine, you use the words, "Defender of the Faith." You pay me in those words the greatest compliment which can be paid, because I know what you mean by "the Faith." The faith, however, is what has supported me, and has supported those who fought with me to arrest the covenant of the League submitted by Mr. Wilson,—faith and belief in the great traditions of the country, faith and belief in the principles of Washington, of Lincoln and of Roosevelt, faith in the people of the United States; above all faith in America. That is the faith that we have kept, and that we mean to keep. We have passed through a period of great excitement. We have stopped the attempt to change the Government. We have arrested the movement toward autocracy. We have saved the United States from being projected into an alliance called a "League" and now there comes to us and to those who voted to entrust us with the government, the great responsibility of construction. The excitement has cooled, the shouting has died down, and we are confronted with this great responsibility. It is easier to tear down than to build up. We must build up, and there we must have faith again. It is that which has sustained us, and if we are to succeed, it will be because we have deep down in our hearts faith in the American people and faith in America. If we have that, and if we never waver from that faith we shall succeed in construction and we shall serve the world best if we make America strong. With faith in America we shall make her what we all want to see her,—helpful to humanity, strong, independent, triumphant, free. [Applause. All standing.]

[Adjourned.]

[Mr. Lodge then autographed many Menus.]



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